

heretofore has appeared only in articles and as relatively minor emphases in books narrating the Scottish Reformation". He lays no claim to originality, nor does he attempt an assessment of the impact of Luther and Lutheranism on Scotland, although he no doubt hopes that he may have gone some way in that direction by his selective presentation of some of the results of the research of others.

In the first chapter entitled "Scotland in the Late Middle Ages" he examines, on the basis of an inadequate coverage of the secondary material, the evidence for the existence of heresy in Scotland. For example, he knows nothing of the important article on Paul Kravař (Paul Craw) by Matthew Spinka. His account of the early development of the University of St Andrews and its colleges is unimpressive. He asserts that after the death of Paul Craw in 1433 "there must have been significant heretical activity in Scotland, as the establishment of St Salvatore's [*sic*] College bears witness". Yet he admits that for verification we must wait until the end of the fifteenth century! No less inadequate are the following six pages which comprise the second chapter and purport to treat of "Scotland in the Renaissance".

With chapters three and four, entitled "The Rise of Scottish Protestantism" and "Scotland's Earliest Protestants" the subject of the book is encountered. The inadequate coverage of the secondary material here is inexplicable when one turns to the very full and extensive bibliography which must be regarded as the essential contribution of the author, but it does have some significant lacunae. It does not include, for example, the valuable work of Gotthelf Wiedermann on Alesius, or my own little essay on John Johnstone. Much space is given to a discussion of the rôle of Patrick Hamilton and in particular to his well known "Places", of which he reproduces the English text. It is, however, to be regretted that, although he knows of the modern critical edition by Dr Haas, he makes no use of it.

JAMES K. CAMERON  
*St Andrews*

Peter Donald, *An Uncounselled King: Charles I and the Scottish Troubles 1637-1641*.

Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990. Pp. xv + 351.  
£35.00 (ISBN 0 521 37235 6).

For Dr Donald, "recent scholarship on the Scottish troubles . . . has tended to concentrate on those who became Covenanters, with only sidelong glances at the king whose ways of government they challenged". In seeking to redress the balance, Dr Donald's own

approach focuses on Charles I's response to the troubles. Although the king inherited a variety of problems from his father, Charles I's style and system of government is shown to have caused trouble from the outset. His policies exacerbated the inherent instability of the regal union; and the king himself too readily overlooked "Scottish distinctiveness". The Revocation scheme itself, as the author shows, was "not an issue on which a united front could readily be formed"; but high taxation and the common fishing proposals had "widely burdensome effects". Besides, "religion and the church were never far from being of political significance". Charles certainly regarded his main struggle to lie with the politics of the church.

The centrality of the religious dimension is stressed by Dr Donald: "it was over the politics of the church that Scots first articulated grounds of profound alienation"; "the direction of changes in the church in the mid-1630s was the critical determinant for what we know as the 'Scottish troubles'"; "church questions continued to be at the fore"; "religion gave a unifying thrust—and was thus more than a mere cloak—to protest which came to cover far more than simply matters of the church". Such a claim, at any rate, rebuffs the thoughts of one writer who imagined that research into ecclesiastical issues was pushing back the frontiers of "dead history". In essence, as Dr Donald amply illustrates, "the controversial religious politics of James and Charles in Scotland were anglicising; as importantly, they were innovatory and overriding in respect to ways of counsel" and they "were resisted by an opposition which therefore made itself strong both ideologically and politically". If Charles considered bishops as "the representative body of the church", large number of Scots thought otherwise and petitioned for meetings of the general assembly and parliament, the institutions of government where the whole nation might be represented. The defence became "religion and liberties": a "free national kirk" and "civil liberty". But to a king determined to assert his authority, protest was treasonable disloyalty.

Throughout his careful investigation, Dr Donald keeps an eye firmly on British dimensions, which broaden understanding of underlying issues and highlight the complexities for Charles in ruling multiple kingdoms. From an exceptionally wide range of sources, the author offers fresh insights into the crisis in kingship between 1637 and 1641. Dr Donald resists applying "revolution" to describe the Covenanters' challenge to royal authority, though others, with some justice, have considered the covenanting programme to be revolutionary in intent. This is a welcome, well-written and well-produced study, despite the recurring irritant of "regnal" for "regal" (e.g. pp. 2, 117, 171). Only the title "uncounselled king"

remains something of a puzzle, which the author seeks to resolve in a concluding chapter. Dr Donald acknowledges (p. 44) “the king was counselled by Scots, albeit not Scots who were completely attuned to the thinking of the Covenant”; but later doubts emerge on whether Charles was “uncounselled”, “poorly counselled”, “wrongly counselled” or “unable to be counselled”. Or was it simply that Charles declined to take the counsel offered?

JAMES KIRK  
*University of Glasgow*

Allan I. Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement 1625-1641*.

John Donald Publishers, Edinburgh 1991. Pp. ix + 228. £22.00.

In this monograph Allan Macinnes has set out to show how Charles I's policies toward Scotland, both his aims and his methods, produced a fierce backlash: he was himself the architect of the Covenanting movement, which by 1641 had reduced his authority to that of a Doge of Venice and had brought about the triumph of what Macinnes calls oligarchic centralism. This is hardly an original interpretation. What is new is a great deal of the detail, especially on financial matters. Macinnes has worked his way carefully through the unpublished sources in the Record Office, notably the treasury and exchequer records and the *sederunts* of the teind commission, and has given us a fascinating account of various aspects of the king's financial and economic policies and their impact. This is done in three topical chapters, on the revocation scheme, its ramifications, and what Macinnes calls “economic nationalism”, which he defines as a royal policy that subordinated Scottish economic interests to those of England. These chapters are the most valuable and original part of the book. They are preceded by a chapter on the Scottish class structure, and another on the “Scottish Inheritance” of Charles I in which Macinnes describes the economy and what he calls a government “losing touch”. The author follows the topical chapters with three essentially narrative chapters focusing on the period from the royal visit of 1633, which he rightly calls the critical turning point in Charles's personal rule, to the parliament of 1641, which reduced Charles to the status of Doge. The focus of these chapters is, of course, the religious issue, which led to constitutional, and then military, confrontation. There is nothing unfamiliar in the telling, though there is in the interpretation, in that Macinnes insists that what happened between 1638 and 1641 was politically and institutionally radical. It would be more accurate, perhaps, to describe what happened as restoration,

